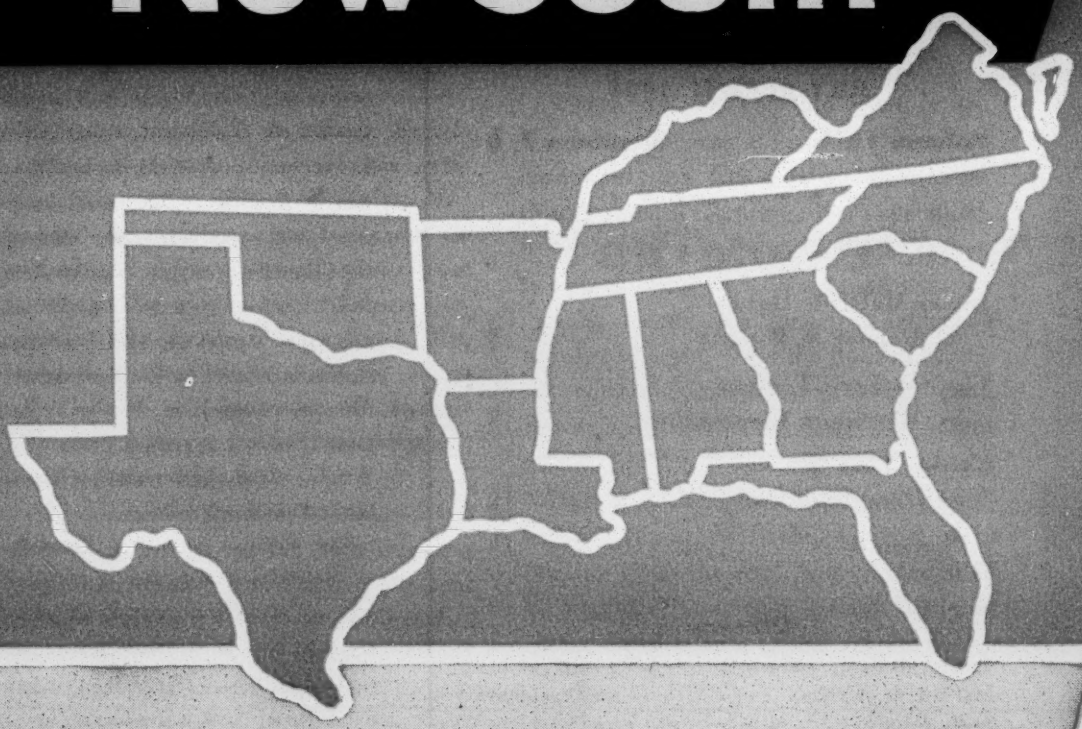
New South



- **James McBride Dabbs**
  Marion A. Wright
- **The Southern Temper**
  Merrimon Cuninggim
- **Golden Plan Works**

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New South

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New South Notes

New South gives its readers this month the first formal introduction to the current president of the Southern Regional Council, James McBride Dabbs. Mr. Dabbs, who became president of the Southern Regional Council in November of last year, has written extensively for publication in *New South* and other magazines, but a more intimate view of the Council's president is given *New South* readers in a brief profile in this issue. Aptly, the sketch of Mr. Dabbs is written by his most immediate predecessor as Southern Regional Council president, Marion A. Wright, whose articles also are familiar to *New South* readers.

The Perkins School of Theology of Southern Methodist University was one of the first formerly all-white theology schools in the South to integrate its classes. Since then, it has experienced its first graduation exercises which included Negroes. The 1958 Spring Number of the theology school's *Journal* is devoted entirely to the topic, "Christianity and Race." *New South* has received permission to reprint the article "Southern Temper," by Merrimon Cuninggim, Dean of the Perkins School. In the article, Dr. Cuninggim analyzes the Southerner and the temper of the South as he sees it today.

New South also includes a brief article by Harry Golden, editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, in which he tells how one of his "Golden plans" is in operation and proposes another one to help speed integration.

James McBride Dabbs

By Marion A. Wright

James McBride Dabbs, who was named president of the Southern Regional Council in November, 1957, is familiar to New South readers through some of his articles. Here, Marion A. Wright, Mr. Dabbs' immediate predecessor as president of the Council, gives New South readers a more intimate picture of the current president. Mr. Dabbs' book, The Southern Heritage, which will be released August 18, will be reviewed in a subsequent issue of New South.

"The world's greatest thinkers have often been amateurs; for high thinking is the outcome of fine and independent living, and, for that, a professorial chair offers no special opportunities." Havelock Ellis in the Dance of Life.

I do not know that Mr. Dabbs ever read that quotation from Ellis, though he probably did, since his omniverous intellect has ranged over much of the world's best literature, seeking what it may devour. Anyhow, what Ellis wrote seems to announce fairly accurately a conclusion independently arrived at by our subject. In the years 1925 to 1942 he was academically ensconced as head of the English Department of Coker College at Hartsvlle, S. C., a girls' school of high standards and traditions. In the latter year, while still a young man as college professors go, with a secure future in the tight little campus world, he marked his last theme, picked up his books and said farewell to the teaching profession.

Where did he go? He went home. Home to him was a farm in the Salem community on Black River in Sumter County, South Carolina. More specifically, it was a rectangular, white, frame, two-story building with a broad veranda (known locally as a "poach") extending across the front, from the floor of which six square columns support the roof. It was built in 1860. It bears the quaint name Rip Raps, deriving from the circumstance that the maternal grandfather, James McBride, hearing rain beating upon the roof, was reminded of a Virginia mountain stream of that name. On the bank of that stream James McBride was once encamped.

It was unthinkable that the retired professor should have gone anywhere else. From Colonial days all branches of the family have been South Carolinians. His earliest paternal ancestor of whom there is record was killed by Tories. His grandfather Dabbs was a captain in the Confederate army; several uncles were soldiers who wore the grey. A great uncle — another James McBride—was a renowned professor of botany at South Carolina College, now the State University. His father, E. W. Dabbs, served in the South Carolina House of Representatives and was president of the South Carolina Farmers' Union. His mother was of Charleston

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ancestry. All of her uncles (except the baby) were Confederate soldiers.

So it was to the farm and to home that James M. Dabbs went when he strode off the college campus. "Strode" is the word, for he is a solid individual, about sixteen hands high, blaze-faced, with flowing roan-colored mane and broad withers. A Clydesdale sort of man.

He wanted to do some thinking. He had not found that a professorial chair was conducive to that pursuit. New South, of course, doesn't want to lose a single one of its city subscribers, but, with due apologies, Dabbs felt, with Ellis, that "an urban life saps that calm and solid strength which is necessary for all great effort and stress, physical or intellectual." Such a life is a powerful solvent. It seems to neutralize all intellectual elements, regardless of how tough and distinctive they may originally have been, and to blend them into the mass conception of what is correct in manners, conduct and morals. So he went to Rip Raps and Black River as Thoreau went to Walden Pond. And with similar results.

Creative Phase

The creative phase of his life began with this return to the farm. Dabbs is, of course, a gentleman; but he is not a gentleman farmer. His hands have the corns and are calloused enough to prove it. He sweats under the Sumter sun. But he has found the time in the cool of the evening to produce a spate of essays for such publications as the Christian Century, New South, The Presbyterian Outlook, The Survey, The South Atlantic Quarterly, Scribners, The Yale Review and many others. There is a distinct religious vein in his work, perhaps, though no necessarily, associated with the fact that he is an elder in the Presbyterian Church.

Parallels Unite

There is also an evident impact of the farm and of Nature upon all that he writes. His metaphors are of the soil. His words might have been freshly turned up by the plow. Religion and Nature may be parallel themes — I wouldn't know—but, if so, Dabbs gives further proof of the Einstein view that parallels ultimately unite.

It was inevitable that his concern with religion and its nimbus, morals, should have brought him to a consideration of justice and injustice. From the detachment of Rip Raps he could see much of the latter in the present day world. More specifically, in the South, his section of trench. (He was a soldier under Pershing.) He didn't like what he saw. He had some feeling of guilt about it. And he determined to purge himself, even if he could not save mankind.

There has been in the South no more stalwart champion of observance of law, of equal rights for all men and, hence, of the removal of all barriers between men of different races or colors. His great personal endowments and his abiding righteous concern with the central problem of his times have made it natural that this native-born graduate of the University of South Carolina, teacher, farmer, author and thinker, should head the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Temper

By Merrimon Cuninggim

Dean, Perkins School of Theology

Southern Methodist University

From

Perkins School of Theology Journal

Once upon a time, in a community that practiced segregation, the minister of a church at the side of a tax-supported campus faced the prospect of observing World Brotherhood Sunday. He proposed to lay it on the line. Thus he prepared and delivered a brave sermon on the theme that "God shows no partiality, but in *every* nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him." The italics were his, because he felt they were God's.

At the conclusion of the service he did the customary thing of "throwing open the doors of the church" for any who might want to join. Now it happened that the institution across the street had recently been forced to admit a few Negroes to its graduate program. On this particular Sunday one of these students was sitting on the back row of the balcony. When the invitation was issued, he said to himself, "If that sermon is what this church believes, then this is the church for me;" and so he went forward.

The minister saw him coming and was filled with sudden anxiety. What to do? But there was only one thing to do, and in a twinkling he did it. He extended the hand of fellowship to the young Negro and took him into the church.

The minister knew that the next days would be hectic, and the first necessity was to get his own thinking straight. Thus fortified, he was ready for the onslaught. He would simply have to go through with it. For example, a group of influential ladies invited him to tea, and told him, "We have decided to join another church." But he had his answer: "What are you going to do when that church gets religion?" He also made more constructive remarks, and those ladies are still members of his church.

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But the minister was not prepared for the outcome. A mid-week business meeting of the congregation had been scheduled for a date shortly thereafter. When the time came, and contrary to the custom of the church, the place was packed. Just prior to the opening of the session, the minister sidled up to a lawyer friend and asked, "To what do we owe this excellent attendance?" And this was the reply: "We heard that a few folks intended to cause you trouble about the Negro you took in, and all of us just decided to come out and back you up."

I

But this was several years ago, before the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Could such a thing happen now? The gain that this episode represents has not been lost in that church or community. But since then, commentators tell us, Southern communities that earlier did not experience such a breakthrough have tightened up in their attitudes and emotions. We are led to believe that, today, dramatic instances of unforced desegregation are exteremely unlikely if not impossible. The Supreme Court dcision, it is said, has represented a set-back to the cause of better race relations.

Yet the problem, as we all know, is not simple. That the Supereme Court decision has brought discord is patent, but that it was therefore a bad thing is not the only available conclusion. Even if it were, what comfort would there be? Time does not run backward, and it is the prsent situation that faces us. By the same token it is we, not our fathers or our sons, who must grapple with it.

It behooves us, then, to examine as thoughtfully and honestly as we can the current temper of the South. What is our mood? What is the prevailing atmosphere in which we work? We shall not escape the fact that our subconscious answers to these questions will shape what we say and do. Better, then, to make our assessment consciously. Where do we stand?

(The usual humilities of approach to this topic are much in order here. I confess to certain limitations of treatment and claim no special insights. The "we" refers to Southern whites, for I cannot speak the mind of my Negro brother. As for that, I cannot pretend to definitive knowledge of my white brother, either. This article is offered simply as the judgment of one white Southerner about himself and his fellows.)

Dispassionate Analysis

To preserve any chance we may have for dispassionate analysis, we need to dig back into our past for the sake of getting some perspective on the present. Without regard to the problem of race we need to understand the special aspects of the Southern character that have made us what we are. That character can best be described, perhaps, by a series of paradoxes, of which six have pertinence for our inquiry.

1. The effort to delineate the Southern spirit itself poses the first paradox: we are of the South, and yet also of the nation. Beginning long before the Civil

War our regionalism was remarked upon. Yet our nationalistic fervor, and even our internationalism, serve as its complement. We are much the same as other Americans, but also different. We love both the Union and the Confederacy. If one of these is still alive, so is the other, for us. Though such a combination of breadth and narrowness does not always produce tension—e.g., loyalty to the U. S. and the U. N.—the possibility is there, and becomes real when national will and regional custom collide.

Differences

A footnote is called for in respect to the supposed differences within the South. If one were dealing solely with the facts of Southern existence—economy, education, topography, health and all the rest—major distinctions could be drawn among the Deep South, the Mid-South, the Border States, the Southwest, etc. But our concern is with the intangible Southern temper, which is homogeneous if not uniform, differing in degree from mountain to piedmont to coastal plain, but hardly in kind. Like the other illustrations to follow, this first paradox of regionalism-nationalism is present all across the South.

2. We are romantic and pragmatic—not that some of us are one and some the other, but that nearly all of us are something of both in the same package. Devoted to the policy of moderation and gradualism, to the art of the possible, we take delight in the unreal, the chimerical, the impossible. This is not merely the anachronism of fact—white columns and smokestacks, machines amid the magnolias. This is a paradox of the human spirit, a strange streak of pragmatism in the midst of a romantic outlook. To understand the South today, one must realize that the white Southerner is a hardheaded sentimentalist.

3. We are full of belligerence, yet we know defeat. It needs to be remembered that the Southerner is the only Anglo-Saxon anywhere on the earth's surface who has been beaten in a major military enterpirse in the last hundred and fifty years. But as historical fact, defeat happened to our grandfathers, not to us. It is as a quality of the human spirit, the sense of defeat, that it applies to us today. It makes us both more sympathetic with other beaten peoples, and more belligerent. We will fight before the hat is dropped, and we will bleed for others as well as ourselves.

4. A similar paradox is the combination, pride and poverty. The reference is not to poverty as a sociological condition but as, again, a spiritual experience. The days of destitution are past, for the South is partaking increasingly of the nation's prosperity. But the days of humiliation linger in the subconscious memory. We are as good as anybody else! But the difference is, we feel we must say so. We have got to look good in the eyes of the world. And when we look bad, it hurts double.

Paradoxical

5. The pinch of these paradoxical elements in the Southern character has produced another pair of unlikely companions, hospitality and estrangement. Like other Americans we are a gregarious people, and we have made special point of cultivating the myth of Southern hospitality. Yet it is not all

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myth, though the truth about us also includes mention of stratifications based on family and class and position, as well as color. Hospitable in part, we are also estranged from each other. As beliefs about ourselves we cherish the former and deplore or deny the latter. Thus when circumstances increase the incidence of the trait we deplore, the violence to our self-esteem is considerable.

6. The final paradox is simply an exaggeration of what can easily be identified elsewhere in the United States. It is the contradiction between individualism, even the spirit of rebellion, and conformity. We treasure the right to be different but hesitate to exercise it. We protest regimentation, but we want to make our protest all together. Thus when some special ordeal hits the South, we can be expected to band together in rebellion against the outside threat, and woe to those non-rebellious who refuse to conform.

Characteristics

Many characteristics of the Southern spirit could be mentioned, including a number that would put the Southerner in a more attractive light than these selected qualities suggest. But as background for our consideration of the present Southern attitude toward the race problem, these paradoxical elements are the most pertinent: we are regionalist as well as nationalist and internationalist in sympathies; we are both incurably romantic and pragmatic; we feel both belligerant and defeated; both prideful and impoverished in spirit; hospitable to, yet estranged from, our fellows rebellious and conforming. By virtue of these aspects of our character we were ripe to be torn apart by the Supreme Court decision.

II

But the first response was shock, a kind of cold acquiescence, and relative silence. When it became clear, however, that little national leadership for compliance with the decision would be forthcoming, Southerners found their voice, sharpened their skill in political maneuvering, and except in the Border States prepared massive resistance. Nearly every competent observer of the Southern scene agrees that opposition to desegregation has grown increasingly bitter in the last year or so.

Yet our analysis of the present Southern temper on the racial problem cannot confine itself to such a generalization. The characteristics we have just noted suggest that the attitudes of Southerners are likely to be much more complex and contradictory than one sweeping statement can adequately embody. We need to look at specific trends and developments in the Southern feeling on race relations. In the light of our understanding of the paradoxical general qualities of the Southern spirit, we shall find that certain specific attitudes toward race give evidence both of the growing resistance to desegregation and of what seems to be a growing support for law and order, if not for integration itself. Out of the host of developments to which attention might properly be given, I choose four for special observation.

1. At the beginning we must deal with a strange contradiction that current analyses unwittingly present. On the one hand, it is said that the South is monolithic in its opposition to the Supreme Court; on the other we are told that the South is torn with strife. Unity, yet discord—how can this be? Which judgment is correct?

Our knowledge of the Southern taste for paradox prepares us to believe that both may somehow be true. On the one hand the overwhelming body of Southerners seem to want no part of integration. Advocacy of, even softness toward, desegregation is accurately gauged as political, economic and social suicide. Those who conclude otherwise are either blind or tragically selective in their choice of evidence.

On the other hand, strife is also present. Nor is it merely that of the embattled, unified South with the outside world. It exists within the South, yet even here not solely with the minority who actually favor desegregation. These two occasions for discord can account for only a part of the tension which grips the South. Another part, but still not the whole story, is the factor to be noted in item No. 4, below—the cleavage along lines of color.

Inner Strife

The remainder, most often omitted in current discussions of the problem, yet perhaps most significant of all, is the strife that is taking place within the mind and heart, and very soul, of the individual white Southerner. All but the most insensitive and ignorant feel a sense of guilt about the segregated system they outwardly defend. As Waldo Beach has said, "The troubled conscience of the Southerner . . . may be deeply hidden beneath layers of custom and rationalization, but it is there. Even the fury of the fanatic racist . . ., which seems so sure and unambigious, is the more frenetic because it covers an anxious insecurity or hides a deep alienation from self."

Conflict Sharper

The outward near-uniformity of attitude, then, is paralleled by the inner turmoil of spirit. The conflict is getting sharper as more and more Southerners are called upon to declare themselves one way or the other. But the increasing sharpness of conflict has within it the hope of its own eventual resolution, for it is composed not alone of stubborn defense of an untenable position but also of growing awareness that it is untenable, because immoral. The essential encounter is of the Southerner, not with the outside world or with the Negro, but with himself.

2. Before things begin to cool off, however, they may get hotter. One distressing evidence is the enervation, even disappearance, of the so-called "moderates." People of poise are afraid to speak, for fear their very moderation will get them caught in controversy. Thus they remain silent, and the extremists hold the floor.

This was first suggested to me last fall by two Little Rock businessmen. "But," I protested, "you are fortunate to have Harry Ashmore and the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock." "No," they said, "he's a radical." Then as we discussed the definition of a moderate, it became clear that they considered him

to be one who has not spoken. Once a person speaks, even if all that he says is, "Obey the law," he has taken sides. Ashmore may consider himself a moderate, but he is so no longer to the segregationists.

The corollary is that a person may speak and act effectively only once. From then on he is branded, and someone else must assume his pose of temperateness. The situation in this regard could easily be exaggerated, but to whatever extent it is true—and it seems to be increasingly characteristic of portions of the South—it is a most deplorable development. Yet the hopeful side of even this distressing situation is that when it gets bad enough, it may call forth many more spokesmen for decency and order, and even for justice and goodwill, than might otherwise be prompted to reveal themselves.

Irrelevant Facts

3. Parallel to the present enervation of the moderates is the growing irrelevance of facts. Some brave folks are still trying to discuss the problem on the basis of the data — sociological, anthropological, educational, ethical, and all the rest. But a frightening host of Southerners do not want the facts and do not intend to be swayed by them. They want only support for their own position; and they are undeterred, at least outwardly, by its being unfactual.

Here is a major explanation of the relative ineffectiveness of educators and clergymen, two groups that are taught to respect the logic of scholarship and the relevance of ethical principle. They find themselves helpless in a different kind of debate. Moreover, they are handicapped by an inability to employ the methods as well as the content to which their professions make them loyal. Opposed to their belief in fair play is a resurgence of the kind of tactics to which Senator McCarthy's name became attached. As some commentators have noted, just when the rest of the nation is recovering from McCarthyism the South is working up a sequel. The homegrown integrationist, and even the soft-speaking moderate, are apt to find themselves labeled, "Communist!" This and similar devices are used not alone by the "poor whites" who feel themselves economically and socially threatened by the advancing status of the Negro; in recent days some people of privilege have joined the ranks of hysteria—"the Ku Klux Klan in Cadillacs," they have been called. But even this cloud has its silver lining for those who believe that truth cannot permanently be flouted nor fair play permanently foregone.

4. In the meantime, however, the development of these various moods has occasioned and in turn been aided by a shift in the relationship of white Southerners with Negroes. Passive prejudice has been displaced by active suspicion. Old patterns of paternalism have weakened; new patterns of enmity have appeared. Distrustful of each other, whites and Negroes have become uncommunicative. In current analyses this factor is always given large and justifiable emphasis in explaining the present temper of the South.

But the counterweight is not so widely noted, and perhaps understandably, since it is only just beginning to make its influence felt. The effort is being made in many places to bring whites and Negroes together for interchange of opinion and common cause in action. As this movement grows it is taking the form not of a return to old ways of communication between superiors and inferiors but of new ways of mutuality among equals.

The Southern attitude toward the racial problem, therefore, is subject to no easy generalization, for while it adds up to a picture of growing resistance to integration, it also furnishes signs of a growing support for eventual compliance with the Supreme Court decision. As we are always reminded, resistance is greater in one place, and signs of promise brighter in another; but the sub-regions of the South differ among themselves in degree, not in kind, on both these responses. In all sections there is outward rigidity, yet inner strife; moderates feel helpless and are often silent; facts are likely to be irrelevant and tactics evasive, even brutal; and whites and Negroes are at suspicious arm's length. But the basic characteristics of the Southern spirit explain not merely the existence but also the inevitable impermanence of these tempers. Our paradoxical qualities have brought us to this point but by their very nature cannot leave us here. We know quite well that we are in transition, culturally and spiritually; from what, we also know, but to what, we do not yet see or are not yet willing to admit.

III

The special interest of this article and its companion pieces, however, is the meaning of the prsent situation for churchmen, both ministers and laymen. What can be said about the Southern temper that applies specifically to the churches and their witness to the Gospel?

It is time to return to the story with which we began. Though it is dated and localized in its details, it suggests three points of pertinence for churchmen irrespective of time, place or denomination. In the rough outline of what happened some years ago in a little college town we can get a foretaste of what can happen, indeed of what is already taking place, in churches all across the South.

1. Note that the minister both spoke and acted, and that his speaking had little impact until his action supported it. Ever and anon we hear complaints that the witness of churchmen on the problem of race is feeble. In the recent symposium, *With All Deliberate Speed*, Wallace Westfeldt declares, anent his description of various "Communities in Strife": "The position of the clergy is, so far at least, indecisive." The issue of *Christianity and Crisis* for March 3, 1958, given over wholly to "The Southern Churches and the Race Question," calls attention to "the moral gap between creed and deed," and chides the churches for their "hypocrisy" and their tendency toward "institutional self-preservation."

Yet as the editors themselves recognize, to say as much "is facile . . ., but it is hardly of much avail," It is part of the factual record, to be sure, that churches have done little to aid the

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(Continued)

process of desegregation, but it is also part of the record that the witness is growing in both scope and effectiveness. Once there was much talk and little action, for soon after the 1954 decision churchmen passed firm resolutions in their solemn assemblies but let the matter rest there. In more recent days, however, talk and action have been going hand in hand. Often the action has to be discreet in order to be fruitful, but he who wants to know can ferret out its evidence in place after place.

And with the increasing activity of churchmen is coming a re-examination of the value of thoughtful pronouncement. For a while the mood was to set talk and action against each other, to deplore the proliferation of the former and the paucity of the latter. But this false antithesis is now being abandoned, for it is widely recognized that public statement as a form of action is not to be disparaged. The statements of pastors in Richmond, Atlanta, Houston and Dallas, to mention only four, are significant actions in themselves, and are leading to other activities of courage and influence.

Layman's Role

2. If ministers are beginning to combine talk and action, and to engage in more of both, what about the laymen? Here another easy antithesis is offered us. In the same issue of *Christianity and Crisis* to which reference has been made, the reports from all five of the leading Southern denominations—Baptist, Disciple, Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian — stress that the racial question "has created a wide gulf between the pulpit and the pew." Board variance does indeed exist. Ministers often feel held back, laymen feel pushed; and as each group resists these pressures, the cleavage is likely to grow.

Opportunity

This fact, however, is only one side of the situation; the other side is represented by the punch-line of our little story, above. The layman said to his minister, ". . . all of us just decided to come out and back you up." In a recent address on "The Church and Integration in Texas," Dr. Harold Kilpatrick, Executive Director of the Texas Council of Churches and himself a Presbyterian layman, reported a conversation he had with a Presbyterian State Senator who had voted consistently for the segregation bills in the Texas Legislature. Dr. Kilpatrick said, "I pointed out that he was voting exactly opposite to the official position of his church. He replied that the lay people were for segregation even if the preachers were against it. I countered by reminding him that the church pronouncements were passed by bodies that were half laymen. The Senator then conceded that he might have voted differently in a church assembly from the way he did as a member of the Texas Senate."

Lest a cynical spirit miss the point, note the confession and the opportunity it suggests that the churches possess. Clergy versus laity is not the bitter contrast we have been led to suppose. When

ministers truly lead, many laymen can be expected to follow. Heartening evidence exists that laymen are more ready to follow than we have dared assume. The greatest single weakness in the strategy of Southern churches is the failure to realize upon this opportunity; but its existence is the greatest ground for hope.

3. The final item of relevance in the episode of the Negro student's being received into the church was the inescapable character of the minister's behavior. He was caught, and he knew it. It was the Gospel, in confrontation with circumstance, that had caught him. When the Gospel is preached, and heard, and believed by both preacher and hearer, old customs are shaken and new relationships emerge.

Christian Sensitivities

The vulnerable spot in the Southern armor is the widespread sensitivity to the Christian faith. The strongest sword in the hands of the church is its only appropriate weapon, the Gospel of Christ. Segregationists tend to make their argument on misunderstandings and falsehoods about many things, even sacred ones. For their own purposes they have often twisted the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and even the Bible itself. But they have not succeeded in identifying their position with the mind of Christ, for the spirit of Jesus is patently opposed to racial prejudice and discrimination. As Harry Ashmore says in his volume, *An Epitaph for Dixie*, ". . . not even the most determined bigot can make a segregationist out of . . . Jesus Christ."

Then, for summary, we need to add one further characteristic of the basic Southern spirit and make one further comment on the Southern attitude toward race. The Southerner is deeply religious; his churches thrive and he has a profound respect for them. Even this quality partakes of paradox, however, for he flirts with unfaith at times and often enjoys his immorality. Yet the Church has a strong hold upon him and he is restless in his disobedience of its voice.

The pertinence of this quality for assessing the present Southern temper is obvious. If the church knows its own Gospel, its potential influence for good is literally immense. There are increasing signs, in all denominations and all parts of the South, that this is becoming so. The situation is bad and may even get worse for a while; but it is better than it looks on the surface. For the conscience of churchmen is stirring and beginning to move.

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, who not long ago evinced their concern with education by promising to close one Negro school for each white school closed in Arlington under the Virginia massive resistance law, have again demonstrated their interest in learning by opening a private "grammer" school. We wish the venture well, and we trust that it will concentrate, as the Defenders are wont to do, on the three Rs along with, perhaps, a little grammar. It is hard to think of any group more in need of education than the Defenders—unless, of course, the grammer they are talking about is the connubial associate of Old Grandad.

—Washington Post

Golden Plan Works New One Proposed

By Harry Golden

From

Carolina Israelite

One of the great retail chain stores has put the Golden "Out-of-Order Plan" into operation and with considerable success. They placed an "Out-of-Order" sign on the "white" drinking fountain in most of their stores in the "Upper" South. Within six weeks everybody was drinking the "colored" water without any bad effects, physical or emotional; and all the signs came off, "Out-of-Order," "white" and "colored." There is a problem, however. In most of these stores they made this experiment in the "Basement," and naturally they could not put an "Out-of-Order" sign simultaneously on the other floors. The whole idea would have been given away and matters made worse. I understand they intend to stagger the "Out-of-Order" signs from now on. They'll put them up on the second and fourth floors and then double back to the main and third floors. This thing has to be done—gradually.

You throw a tiny pebble into a stream and you never really know the extent of the ripples.

In a seminar on education in Tennessee I suggested to the Negro parents to make sure that their children study French immediately upon entering high school. We know of course, that there is no vertical segregation, but if the vertical Negro suddenly begins to talk French, he can even sit down without creating any serious emotion among the "whites." I had a fellow try this out on the cashier's line at the A&P store. He suddenly asked the cashier about some product in French, and the "white" folks ahead of him actually broke ranks to give him priority.

Of course there could be too much of a good thing. If the Negroes of the South follow my suggestion it is possible that within twenty years they'll all be talking French; it would no longer be a novelty. But by that time there may not be need for any more "Golden Plans."

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"If I had it to do over desegregating schools I would have worked for integration of teachers as well. If we had known how well integration would work, we would have gone all the way."

Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent,
Louisville City Schools
Quoted by United Press International

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"We deplore the fact that the mere exercise of the right of petition by certain (Louisiana State University) faculty members has resulted in their being called to account by the Legislature. We fear that this discriminatory harassment of certain faculty members will result in great damage to higher education in Louisiana."

Resolution of Tulane University Chapter
American Association of University
Professors
Quoted by Associated Press

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"You'll find superior white, Negro and yellow people, depending on the character, intelligence and initiative of the individual."

Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge
Quoted by Associated Press
In Memphis COMMERCIAL APPEAL

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"We felt that a poll to determine whether or not the patrons of Venable Public School prefer a segregated public school would serve no useful purpose. We do not believe that such a choice is available. Nor do we believe adequate private schools can be provided for all children. The board feels that the best interests of the people of Virginia require the continuation of public schools and the board's efforts have been directed solely toward that end."

Venable School PTA Executive Board,
Charlottesville, Virginia
Quoted in the
CHARLOTTESVILLE DAILY PROGRESS

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"Christianity tries to look upon these tensions as creative tensions, as creative crisis. It would never agree with many of those today who counsel evasion and delay, that human conflict is distressing and should be avoided at all cost. There is a high-level Christian moral judgment that makes every Christian's life and every church a moral tension."

From Summary Report
Race Relations Institute
Fisk University
Quoted in Chattanooga TIMES

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"The Department of Justice, the Executive Department of the Federal Government, is going to have to enforce the decrees of the Federal courts if they're going to be carried out."

Harry Ashmore, Editor,
ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Quoted by Associated Press